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The Common Cause

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[The National Union does not hold itself responsible for opinions expressed in signed articles.]

SOME DATES IN MRS. FAWCETT'S LIFE.

1847.—Millicent Garrett was born at Aldeburgh, Suffolk.

1867.—She married Professor Henry Fawcett. In the same year she joined the Executive Committee of the London Society for Women's Suffrage. From this time on her name is constantly recorded in Suffrage Journals, minutes of Suffrage Committees, and reports of Suffrage Societies. It appears as that of the chief speaker at public meetings, the lecturer at Suffrage gatherings, the most active member of Committees, the President of Suffrage Societies, the leader of Suffrage deputations, the head of Suffrage processions, the Chief Executive Officer of the N.U.W.S.S. in all its most important political and administrative work—and in this year—**1918—it does so still!**

1869.—Meeting held at Mrs. Fawcett's house in Cambridge to promote a scheme for organising lectures to women students in Cambridge. (This scheme was the origin of Newnham College.)

1869-1870.—Mrs. Fawcett took a vigorous share in the campaign for the admission of women to the Municipal Franchise and to School Boards.

1870.—Mrs. Fawcett published "Political Economy for Beginners."

1872.—Professor and Mrs. Fawcett published their essays.

1880.—Professor Fawcett became Postmaster-General.

1885.—Mrs. Fawcett took a prominent part in the struggle for the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which raised the age of consent from thirteen to sixteen.

1889.—Mrs. Fawcett published "Some Eminent Women of Our Time."

1890.—Miss Philippa Fawcett, of Newnham College, was above the Senior Wrangler in the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos.

1906.—Mrs. Fawcett published "Five Famous French Women."

1907.—Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D., became President of the N.U.W.S.S.

1917.—The Jubilee of Mrs. Fawcett's work for the Cause was celebrated by suffragists.

1918.—The Representation of the People Act enfranchised 6,000,000 women, and Mrs. Fawcett was acclaimed as the leader, to whose work this great reform was pre-eminently due.

AN EARLY PORTRAIT.

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT
PRESIDENT OF THE
NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES

SOME DATES IN THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

1832.—The word "male" introduced into the Reform Act.

1848.—First Women's Rights Convention in the United States of America.

1861.—Publication of Mill's "Representative Government."

1866-1868.—The first Women's Suffrage Societies formed in London, Manchester, Edinburgh, Bristol, and Birmingham.

1867.—John Stuart Mill's Women's Suffrage Amendment to the Reform Bill defeated by 123 votes.

1869.—British Women gained the Municipal Franchise.

1869.—Women's Suffrage adopted in Wyoming.

1870.—First Married Women's Property Act.

1884.—Mr. Woodall's Women's Suffrage Amendment to the Reform Bill defeated by 136 votes.

1892.—Sir Albert Rollitt's Women's Suffrage Bill defeated by 23 votes.

1893.—Women's Suffrage adopted by New Zealand.

1897.—Mr. Faithfull Begg's Women's Suffrage Bill passed its Second Reading in the House of Commons by a majority of 71 votes.

1899.—Women's Suffrage adopted by West Australia.

1902.—Women's Suffrage adopted by New South Wales.

1902.—Women's Suffrage adopted by the Commonwealth of Australia.

1907.—Women's Suffrage adopted by Finland.

1908.—Women's Suffrage adopted in Norway.

1910.—"Conciliation Bill" passed its Second Reading in the House of Commons by a majority of 110 votes.

1911.—"Conciliation Bill" passed its Second Reading by a majority of 167 votes.

1917.—Women's Suffrage Clauses of the Representation of the People Bill passed by majorities of three to one.

1917.—Women's Suffrage adopted by New York State.

1917.—Women's Suffrage adopted by Canada.

1918.—The Representation of the People Act, enfranchising six million British Women, received the Royal Assent, and Great Britain, first among the great powers, adopted Women's Suffrage.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES

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AN EARLY PORTRAIT OF MRS. FAWCETT.

MISS RHODA GARRETT.

The Beginning of the Women's Suffrage Struggle in Great Britain.

(From *Women's Suffrage*. By M. G. Fawcett.)

Shortly before the General Election of 1865, John Stuart Mill was invited by a body of Westminster electors to offer himself as candidate. In reply, he made the plainest possible statement of his views, including the conviction that women were entitled to sit in Parliament. It was the first time that Women's Suffrage had ever been brought before English electors.

In 1867, as an amendment to the Reform Bill, Mill raised the question of the enfranchisement of women. His motion was to omit the word "man" and insert the word "person" in the enfranchising clause. Of this he said himself that it was by far the most important service that he was able to perform as a member of Parliament. Seventy-three members voted with him, and a hundred and ninety-six against him; with the addition of pairs and tellers, the total number supporting Women's Suffrage was over eighty. This amount of support surpassed all expectations. Before the debate and division it was uncertain whether Women's Suffrage would command more than a few strong votes in the House. Mr. Mill's masterly speech, grave and high-toned, made a deep impression. Perhaps the thing that pleased him most was that John Bright voted with him. He was known to be an opponent of Women's Suffrage, but he was fairly won over by the force of Mill's speech.

DR. GARRETT ANDERSON.

It is an oft-told tale how in the previous year a little Committee of workers had been formed to promote a Parliamentary petition from women in favour of women's suffrage. It met in the house of Miss Elizabeth Garrett (afterwards Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D.) and included Mrs. Bodichon, Miss Emily Davies, Mrs. Peter Taylor, Miss Rosamond Davenport Hill, and other well-known women. They consulted Mr. Mill about the petition, and he promised to present it if they could collect as many as a hundred names. After a fortnight's work they secured fourteen hundred and ninety-nine, including many of the most distinguished women of the day, such as Mrs. Somerville, Frances Power Cobbe, Florence Nightingale, Harriet Martineau, Miss Swanwick, Mrs. Josephine Butler, Lady Anne Gore Langton, Mrs. William Grey. In June, 1866, Miss Garrett and Miss Emily Davies took the petition down to the House, entering by way of Westminster Hall. They were a little embarrassed by the size of the roll in their charge, and deposited it with an old apple-woman, who hid it under her stall. The ladies did not know how to find Mr. Mill, when at that moment Mr. Fawcett passed through Westminster Hall and at once offered to go in search of him. Mr. Mill was much amused on his arrival when he found the petition was hidden away under the apple-woman's stall, but he was greatly delighted by the large number of names that had been obtained, and said, "Ah, this I can brandish with some effect."

Among those who helped Elizabeth Garrett in her early work for Women's Suffrage were her sisters Agnes and Millicent and her cousin Rhoda. Miss Rhoda Garrett was one of the earliest Suffrage leaders, and was a very inspiring person to all who knew her. Unfortunately, she died in 1882, in early middle-age, and was not, like the other members of her family mentioned above, able to give half a century of work to the Women's Movement.

We would like to call attention to the pictorial appeal (in this number) of the "Katherine Harley Memorial Fund," which reminds us that it is just a year ago since that heroic woman gave her life for Serbia, after years of strenuous work in the cause of Women's Suffrage, and we would ask all who can to contribute to the Fund which will not only perpetuate her memory for all time in the place where so much of her work was done, but will materially help a hospital in which she took the keenest interest, and which, in spite of crippled finances, has done splendid work for the wounded throughout the war.

Looking Backward.

By MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

"Things done are won,
Joy's soul lies in the doing."

I have often said, what I most devoutly believe, that the Suffrage movement, all through its fifty years' existence as practical politics, has made continuous and fairly rapid progress. I have gone as far as to say, when incited to describe the "ups and downs," that I could not do this because it had had all "ups" and no "downs." That is how it really looked to me at the time, and how, even more plainly now, it looks to me in perspective. There were moments, no doubt, of disappointment; one was when the Conciliation Bill was defeated in 1912, when we knew we had a majority of M.P.'s in the House of Commons definitely pledged to support it. But those of us whose disposition and training led us to take long views, never doubted for a moment that ultimate success was certain. "I shall not live to see it, but thee will," was said to several of us by Priscilla McLaren when she was well on towards her ninetieth year; and we felt as certain of final victory as if the fortresses of ignorance and prejudice had already surrendered. Those who had the power of looking back over a fair number of years had indubitable proof all along of the great progress that was being made.

We realised the solidarity of the Women's Movement. It might be, and was, divided into sections, such as Education, medical and general; employment, industrial and professional; the repeal or amendment of barbarous old laws oppressive to women handed on from the serfdom of women in the Middle Ages; and, lastly, political equality. The practical advantages of keeping these branches of the movement separate were obvious: one could often get support and sympathy for one or more from those who would have been entirely alienated if they had been invited to support them all. Naturally the most rapid progress was made in those branches of our work which did not require any changes in the law, and therefore demanded no help from Parliament. But Parliament itself, even the apparently inaccessible Upper Chamber, is human and is part of the public, and is profoundly influenced by public opinion; consequently, every advance in education, every woman who did good work as a Poor Law Guardian, or member of a School Board, or factory inspector, or doctor, or surgeon, or in any other sphere of useful activity outside the time-honoured occupations which have always been recognised as "women's sphere" (the ability required to conduct these successfully is now beginning to be recognised), helped to form public opinion and to give it a bias in favour of extended opportunities for women. The movement has been growing steadily ever since Florence Nightingale made up her mind that she could not be satisfied with the cage-bird life thought proper for young ladies of her position in 1850, and determined to get herself trained as a sick nurse. The speed of the movement increased by its own momentum, and everyone acknowledges how extraordinarily it has been stimulated by the war. Public opinion on the general question of the position and duties of women has been continuously and deeply influenced by it for fifty years or more, and the war only emphasised and underlined the lessons already learnt. This is, in my judgment, the cause of the great wave of conversions to women's suffrage during the last two years. These were not due to sentimentality, still less to terror, nor, as Mrs. Humphry Ward charitably suggests, to a craven yielding to sloth and love of ease; but arose from a readjustment by the man in the street of his conception of the sort of work women were fit to do, and of the sort of things that women would be thinking about and interested in. The comments of hostile observers were often very enlightening on these changes in public opinion. The late Mr. Goldwin Smith, who thought his own country unworthy of his citizenship, and betook himself to the other side of the Atlantic, revisited his native land from time to time; he never failed to make sarcastic comments on the progress of the women's movement. On one occasion he observed, "The next time I come back I shall expect to find a woman and a horse standing for Southwark."

I should like to give a few more illustrations from my own recollections of the sort of atmosphere in which we began our work for women. About 1867, in my early married life in Cambridge, I met a friend of my husband's who had just returned from a great International Exhibition in Paris. I asked him to tell me about it, and what were the most interesting things he had seen. He excused himself from replying to me by saying he had not had time to visit the silk department! This can, however, be capped in more recent years by a paragraph in the woman's section of a Labour paper which was distributed all over a huge Socialist meeting in the Albert Hall about the time of the outbreak of the first Balkan War in 1911, to the effect that the chief interest women would take in the war would arise from its curtailing the supply of attar of roses! Of course, no sane human being could really have believed this; it was simply a specimen of the *vieux jeu* which some press man thought good enough for a woman's column.

To illustrate again from my own experience the enormous change which has taken place in public opinion, I recall a very early suffrage meeting in London, I think in 1871, when Mrs. Peter Taylor was in the chair and I was one of the speakers. Both our husbands were in Parliament, and not long afterwards one of their colleagues referred to us in the House as two ladies who had disgraced themselves by their appearance on a public platform, but kindly added that he would not further disgrace them by mentioning their names. At this time there was not a single newspaper which supported our cause. Reporters came to our meetings and sometimes composed very quaint paragraphs about us, such as, "The lecturer was youthful but composed, feminine *but* intelligent." Later on one reporter was overheard saying to another: "I shall go; these women are only talking sense; there's no copy in that." Another gem which I remember in an anti-suffrage article about this period, pointed out that while in the matter of political liberty we were aiming at that which could never be conceded, there were compensations for us in other directions. The female sex was not always placed in a position of inferiority—*"the epicure prefers the female herring."*

In view of these reminiscences, which other suffragists could easily multiply, it will probably be conceded that in our struggle for the suffrage we started from a lower level than that from which men set out after the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. They had not then to argue against the political disinheritance of an entire sex; they had a jumping-off place of an electorate of half a million, with an unbroken tradition of political liberty for men stretching back for seven hundred years. No small asset! They had, like ourselves, to combat the fixed conviction that the already enfranchised few were inherently and necessarily superior in every respect to the unenfranchised many. But they grappled boldly with this difficulty, and eventually won their battle, gaining Household Suffrage for men, first in the towns by the Reform Bill of 1867, and later in the counties by the Reform Bill of 1884. My object in recalling these facts is to remind some who might be tempted to forget them that men, in a much easier battle than ours, took fifty-two years to gain Household Suffrage for themselves, and that they accomplished it in two steps with an interval of seventeen years between them; whilst Household Suffrage for women, for such the present Act can be fairly considered, was won in the fifty years between 1867 and 1917. Surely this is fairly good time, all things considered, especially when we remember the *enormously* increased difficulty of having a sex prejudice to contend against as well as a class prejudice.

I do not lose sight of one very important drawback to the present Act, namely the absurdly high age limit imposed on women voters. A boy, if he has served in the Navy or Army, may vote at the age of 19; no woman may vote in Parliamentary elections below the age of 30. It is wholly unreasonable and I am convinced will not be maintained for more than a few years. But the reason why it was imposed is quite obvious; it was intended to calm the fears of those who were afraid of creating a register in which the majority of the voters were women. When women were enfranchised in Norway in 1907, a similar fear caused the Norwegian Reform Parliament to establish Manhood Suffrage for men and a taxpaying suffrage for women. Most people will agree that this is a more objectionable method of reducing the number of women voters than the one adopted here; because it is applicable only to one class,

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and that the poorest, and consequently that most in need of any help and protection which Parliamentary representation affords. The restriction in Norway only lasted six years, and in 1913 women were granted womanhood suffrage to correspond with the manhood suffrage given to men. This change received the support of all political parties in Norway, Conservative, Liberal and Labour. The reason was that a very short electoral experience convinced everyone that there was absolutely no tendency at all on the part of women to vote *en masse* against men; that women joined the political parties of their choice and, apart from old laws oppressive to women which they naturally united to oppose (a task in which they were cordially seconded by men) there was no tendency to create a woman's party as against a man's party. Experience proved that it was a matter of complete indifference from the practical point of view in what proportion men and women stood to each other in the majorities and minorities which were revealed at an election. The bogey and bugbear of an existing electorate being out-voted by a newly-created and less experienced electorate was one which was used with great effect by those who opposed the Reform Bill of 1867. There was more show of reason in it then than now, for while the numbers of women are only about four per cent. in excess of the numbers of men, the working-class population, first effectively enfranchised in 1867 and 1884, exceeded in numbers all other classes put together by at least five hundred per cent.

But who wishes to go back to the old discredited system which prevailed when all that working men had to do with taxes was to pay them, and all they had to do with the laws was to obey them? Our country has definitely abandoned for good and all this system, and I do not believe you could find anywhere the slightest desire to go back to it. I am convinced that the country never could have stood the strain and exhaustion of the last three and a half years unless the masses as well as the classes had had the power of self-government. The franchise laws of Prussia are probably unique in deliberately excluding from their fair share of electoral power the masses of the working population. History will record how this system stood the strain of a long war. The complete autocracy of Russia has already crumbled under it.

Looking back over the last fifty years' work for women, I can truly say it has been a joyful and exhilarating time: punctuated by victory after victory. What we were able to do without the Suffrage is in the highest degree encouraging for the outlook of our successors. They, with the franchise to back their efforts, will be able to do much more than we. One great drawback in the old unenfranchised days lay in the length of time, the concentration of *personnel*, energy and money necessary to accomplish what we were aiming at. Thus it took Josephine Butler seventeen years to carry the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act; it took fifteen years to open to women a right to medical education and to place their names on the British Medical Register; twelve years to pass the Midwives Act of 1902; and the Married Women's Property Act and the Guardianship of Children's Act in their present very imperfect form were only carried after long years of concentrated effort, absorbing the best efforts of a considerable group of able men and women. I can only hope that those who are beginning their work now may have as joyful a fifty years before them as I and many dearly-loved colleagues have to look back upon.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies—1866-1918.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is a typically British organisation in character and spirit. It has been typically British, too, in the method of its growth. Parts of the present whole have grown up individually and have united, and separated and united again (even as has happened with the different parts of Britain); traditions have been handed on from one group of people to another, successive committees and conferences and councils have organised and reorganised themselves and the whole; new schemes of organisation have been superimposed on old ones without quite covering them or sweeping them away: the National Union Constitution, like the British Constitution, has grown and not been made, and the result, though it is illogical, is very much alive. Like the British Constitution, it "works very well on the whole," and the relation of our present Executive Committee to the committee that met in London in 1866 is almost as difficult to define clearly as the relation of the present British Parliament to the Anglo-Saxon Witanagemot!

There is, however, one link. Mrs. Fawcett, whose triumph we acclaim to-day, began her work as a member of the London Committee in 1867, and has been the centre of our later organisation and the guide and leader of our movement ever since. It is to her that we owe our continuity and the spirit of our work.

At the moment when we are making a special appeal for the development of The Common Cause, in the belief that a good paper is one of the most essential means of carrying on the Women's Movement, it is interesting to note that the forerunner of the Women's Suffrage Organisation in England was *The Englishwoman's Journal*, founded, in 1858, by Barbara Leigh-Smith (Madame Bodichon) and Bessie Rayner Parkes (Madame Belloc), with the counsel and encouragement of Mrs. Jameson. It was the first step towards creating a centre for the thoughful men and women who were beginning to realise how important it was for the community that women should be educated and that the laws governing them should be reformed. In 1854 Miss Leigh-Smith had collected in a thin pamphlet all the laws that specially related to women. In 1858 she founded the *Journal*. It soon proved a means of drawing the reformers together. Jessie Boucherett, "who was consuming her soul in the solitary desire to help women to better economic conditions," saw a copy of *The Englishwoman's Journal* on a bookstall one day, and hastened to join Miss Leigh-Smith and Miss Parkes in their work. Adelaide Proctor was also brought to them by seeing a stray number of the *Journal*. Together, in 1859, they founded "The Society for Promoting the Employment of Women"—the great-great-grandmother of Women's Service! After seven years' work *The Englishwoman's Journal* was incorporated with a periodical called *The Alexandra Magazine*, which turned out to be short lived. Then, in 1866, it was revived by Miss Boucherett, with the title of *The Englishwoman's Review*. The leading article in the first number of the *Review* is called "The Work we have to Do." It dwells on the fact that the interests of men and women are "inseparable and identical," and goes on to enquire why the political reformers who are striving to better the conditions of working men are not also thinking of working women. The Editor thinks this may be partly because "the self-interest of the wealthy and educated classes is more affected by the condition of working men than by that of working women," and partly because people are "naturally more interested in their own sex." "However," she writes, "be the reason what it may, it is certain that the subject has not received a large amount of attention. Those who have studied it are few, but the misery of our women being so visible as to attract the eye of the most casual observer, and attention having been called that way by recent discoveries regarding the enormous infantile death-rate and the frequency of child murder, the subject has at last attracted a desultory kind of notice." *The Englishwoman's Journal* was certainly the true ancestress of The Common Cause!

The first germ of the N.U.W.S.S. was the committee that was formed in London, in 1866, to work for John Stuart Mill's Women's Suffrage Amendment to the Reform Bill. In August, 1867, a Woman's Suffrage Society was formed in Manchester. In October, 1867, we learn from *The Englishwoman's Review* that "The London Franchise Committee, which was temporarily formed last winter, having dissolved itself, the London National Society for Women's Suffrage has been established on a permanent basis. The Executive Committee consists of the following ladies: Miss F. P. Cobbe, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, Miss Hampson, Miss Hare, Miss Lloyd, Mrs. Lucas, Mrs. Stansfield, and the hon. secretary, Mrs. P. A. Taylor. The General Committee is not yet complete. Up to the present it contains the names of two members of the House of Lords, thirty members of the House of Commons, and a considerable number of men and women more or less distinguished in literature." Approval of the objects of the Society and a minimum subscription of one shilling constitute membership.

The Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage was founded on November 6, 1867, and about the same time the London, Manchester, and Edinburgh Societies agreed to unite. The terms of the Union may be found in the report of the first

meeting of the Manchester Society published in its first report. The meeting resolved: "That this society agrees that its members shall unite with members of other societies having the same object, to form one National Society for Women's Suffrage, with independent centres of action; the constitution, executive, and funds of each society shall remain entirely irresponsible to and uncontrolled by the others, the bond of union to consist solely in the assumption of the name National Society for Women's Suffrage; and the amalgamation of the names of the members enrolled by each centre into one national list of supporters of the political enfranchisement of women." Resolutions to the same effect were adopted by the societies at London and Edinburgh, and so the act of union was accomplished. Very soon afterwards societies were founded in Bristol and Birmingham.*

In 1872 an attempt was made at closer union. Mr. Jacob Bright, who had become the Parliamentary leader of the Woman's Suffrage Movement after Mill left Parliament, advised that a central committee should be formed in London to represent all the Suffrage societies and carry on Parliamentary work. The existing London Committee did not approve of this proposal, as they held that the names of some of the officers proposed for the committee would identify the work for Women's Suffrage too closely with the unpopular agitation for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. For a time two committees worked in London, but in 1877 they amalgamated. The 'seventies were active years in the Women's Suffrage agitation. Bill after Bill was introduced into Parliament, debated, and then pushed aside by the Government. Meetings were held all over the country, and in 1870 appeared the first number of *The Women's Suffrage Journal*, edited by Miss Lydia Becker, and carried on by her till her death in 1890. "It was like a child to her. . . . She realised the value of a continuous record, better, perhaps, than any of her colleagues could do—a record which served to keep the workers in touch, which gave a cue to their common policy and was a ready reference for Members of Parliament and others engaged in political questions."

Great things were hoped by Suffragists from the Liberal reforming Parliament elected in 1880; but these hopes were dashed to the ground by the attitude of the Prime Minister (Mr. Gladstone), and with the defeat of Mr. Woodall's Women's Suffrage Amendment to the Reform Bill, in June, 1884, one period of agitation was brought to an end.

A new one opened immediately, but unfortunately there were divided councils in the movement. As had happened before, and as was to happen again, one group believed in widening the organisation in order to take in members and societies working for "kindred objects"; while the other group held that, as the enfranchisement of women was the one subject on which all Suffragists were agreed, justice and expediency demanded that the Suffrage organisation should exist for that alone.

On this occasion it was Home Rule and Liberal principles for which some Suffragists were anxious to work within the Suffrage organisations. A division took place. The Central National Society for Women's Suffrage was formed, and admitted as affiliated bodies entitled to send delegates to its councils associations formed for other purposes than the extension of the franchise to women. The reconstructed Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, on the other hand, only admitted as affiliated bodies societies which had Women's Suffrage as their sole object. (One could wish that the two organisations had chosen rather more distinctive names; but, as a matter of fact, they seem generally to have referred to each other in their minutes by the address of their respective offices!)

In 1895 attempts at coalition were begun. A combined Committee was formed, and representatives from the Manchester, Edinburgh, and Bristol societies soon joined it. Then, in 1897, a regular scheme of coalition was drawn up. The Central Committee became the Central and Eastern Society for Women's Suffrage, the Central and National Society became the Central and Western Society for Women's Suffrage. The Manchester Society became the North of England Society for Women's Suffrage. The Edinburgh Society remained as it had been all along and as it is now, "The Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage."

Besides these societies the Union included Women's Suffrage Societies in Birmingham, Leeds, Sligo, Southport, Cambridge, Liverpool, Birkenhead, Leicester, Luton, Cheltenham, Halifax, and Nottinghamshire. The Constitution very much resembled our present one, except that the Executive Committee consisted of representatives from all the societies in the Union.

A women's Suffrage Bill introduced by Sir Albert Rollit had been defeated by twenty-three votes in 1892. In 1897, the year of N.U.W.S.S. reorganisation, one introduced by Mr. Faithfull Begg passed its Second Reading in the House of Commons by 228 votes to 157. After this the enemies of Women's Suffrage did not try to defeat Bills, but to evade them, and sought to prevent the discussion of the subject. In this task our Parliamentary methods and our party system favoured them. The last years of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth century were years unfavourable to domestic reform. Many reformers had rather lost heart about politics, and the Suffrage agitation was probably affected by this fact. (In Greater Britain* it was gaining its first great successes.) About 1904, however, when democracy was awakening all over the country, this greatest of democratic movements showed signs of a powerful revival. Suffrage Societies began to spring up everywhere. The large existing societies of the National Union, especially the Central Eastern, Central and Western Society, the North of England Society and the Edinburgh Society, were active in founding others in their own areas. In 1906 a fresh reorganisation of the Union was carried out, and it became very much what it is now, only not so large. From that time the governing body has been a council consisting of representatives from all the Societies in proportion to their numbers. It decides the policy of the Union and elects Honorary Officers and an Executive Committee, choosing them not for territorial reasons but because the Societies believe them to be the best available persons for the work.

After the reorganisation of 1906 the Parliamentary work of the Union increased in importance; it began to take part in all Parliamentary elections, and in some cases ran its own candidates. At the same time its propaganda work throughout the country grew into an immense tide, which it was more and more difficult for politicians to ignore. The first procession in February, 1907 (popularly called "the mud march"), was the forerunner of an immense number of open-air demonstrations, culminating in the Women's Suffrage Pilgrimage of 1912. For seven years countless meetings of every kind were held in all parts of the country. A great network of organisation covered the country, and it was hard to travel anywhere between the Orkneys and Land's End without meeting the Suffrage agitation.

Between 1909 and 1914 the number of Societies in the Union grew from seventy to over five hundred. The Common Cause, the organ of the Union, was founded in April, 1909, and has been published weekly ever since. In the first number the Editor, Mrs. Swanwick, wrote: "We hold that the liberation of women is the cause which good and intelligent men and good and intelligent women have in common even when they don't recognise it. . . . The meaning of The Common Cause is that through liberty and mutual trust men and women will arrive at a higher development than through doubt and domination." This policy has been maintained by the paper down to the present time.

In this year *The Englishwoman*, a monthly magazine, was also started. In the meanwhile the Militant Suffrage Movement had arisen. Great enthusiasm and devotion were poured into it by a number of women, and it probably served to awaken a good many people, who, without it, would never have realised "how much women cared." On the other hand, it undoubtedly alienated not only politicians of all parties, but also working people, and especially the great mass of working women, and it made possible the growth of an Anti-Suffrage Movement which could hardly have flourished without it. From the moment when Militant Societies began to use violence and not only to endure it, their action appeared to many members of the N.U.W.S.S. to be not merely inexpedient but actually wrong, and an injury to the great cause of Women's Suffrage.

In 1910 Constitutional and Militant Women's Suffrage Societies united in support of the Conciliation Bill, a moderate measure of Women's Suffrage, which was drafted by a Parlia-

* The Second Annual Report of the Birmingham Society (for the years 1869-70) begins pessimistically, "Reports are more often burned than read." In subsequent Reports the hope is frequently expressed that Reports may not be necessary much longer. But the Birmingham Society has had to draw up a good many Reports since then, and it is to be hoped that it will draw up many more in the years to come, and that they will all be read and not burned!

* Woman's Suffrage was adopted in New Zealand in 1893 and in South Australia in 1894.

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THE KATHERINE HARLEY Memorial Fund.

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The object of this Fund is to endow a Women's Ward in the Royal Salop Infirmary in memory of Mrs. Harley of Condover, Shropshire, President for 10 years of the Shrewsbury Branch of the N.U.W.S.S. who, after more than two years arduous work on behalf of the wounded in France and Salonika, was killed by an enemy shell while tending the distressed Serbians at Monastir, on March 7th, 1917.

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and the
DEVOTED LIFE-WORK AND LEADERSHIP
of
Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

(President: National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies)
Founded 1867.

Now that our first great victory for the franchise has been won, it is felt by many admirers of Mrs. Henry Fawcett that some permanent memorial should be raised as a tribute to her fifty years' work for the cause. To this end, and in order that her name may be gratefully remembered in the University of London by generations of future women students, it has been decided to create an endowment for scholarships at Bedford College, to be named the "Millicent Fawcett Scholarships." Bedford College is the oldest of the women's University Colleges and Mrs. Fawcett has been for many years a Governor of it.

Eight years ago Miss Philippa Fawcett, herself a former student, promised to give £100 to the College when the suffrage was won. Now this gift can be claimed, and it has been suggested that it should form the nucleus of a fund for the above purpose to commemorate the enfranchisement of women in the United Kingdom.

Since they have now obtained their rights as citizens, it is essential that women should equip themselves by all means within their power for the exercise of their new duties. Here, the training given by a University education holds an important place and this is proved by the demand, which is daily growing stronger, for University qualifications in all branches of specialised work. Hitherto women have lacked the provision for advanced work and research, which men have enjoyed for centuries and, in establishing better facilities for University training for women, men and women who have fought long and sacrificed much to gain suffrage will, in a very real sense, be carrying on the good work in which parliamentary enfranchisement is the first step. The fund for "Milicent Fawcett Scholarships" to be held at Bedford College is designed to provide such facilities. **Many scholarships are needed: £2,000 invested in War Bonds will provide one of £100 a year.**

We confidently believe that this appeal will secure a response from all suffragists who desire to advance still further the movement for which Mrs. Henry Fawcett has done so much, and to express, in enduring form, their gratitude for her devoted life-work and leadership.

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Subscriptions will be gratefully received by The **Lady Frances Balfour,** Hon. Treasurer Millicent Fawcett Scholarships (c/o Bedford College, Regent's Park, N.W. 1), to whom also **WAR STOCK** may be transferred. Cheques to be made payable to The Lady Frances Balfour, and crossed "Fawcett Scholarships."

mentary Committee, composed of members of all parties, and with Mr. H. N. Brailsford as its Honorary Secretary. It would have given the vote to about one million women occupiers. On July 12 this Bill was introduced by Mr. Shackleton and passed its second reading by a majority of 109. Mr. Asquith, however, refused to give time for its further stages, and in November Parliament was dissolved. In 1911 the Bill was reintroduced by Sir George Kemp, and this time the majority on the second reading was 167 (May 5, 1911), these large majorities being gained while the two Parliaments elected in 1910 were fresh from the constituencies. In November, 1911, Mr. Asquith announced that he intended to introduce a Reform Bill in 1912 which would not include women. In answer to a deputation from the N.U.W.S.S. he promised that it should be so drafted as to admit of a Woman's Suffrage Amendment; he also renewed a promise he had already made to give time for the further discussion of the Conciliation Bill.

The announcement of the Reform Bill had, however, in the phrase that was used at the time, "torpedoed the Conciliation Bill." The possibility of including a wider measure of Women's Suffrage in the Reform Bill gave an excuse to those politicians who were professed Suffragists but who (either because they thought it undemocratic or for other reasons) disliked the Conciliation Bill. The militants, who had refrained from militant tactics in order to support the Bill, resumed them when it was "torpedoed." This gave the politicians another excuse and alienated public sympathy. The Irish Party, who thought that the time spent on the future stages of the Bill would be taken from Home Rule discussions, decided to vote against it, and when it was reintroduced by Mr. Agg-Gardner in March, 1912, it was defeated by 14 votes. In June the Reform Bill was duly introduced; but very slow progress was made with it, so that it did not reach the Committee stage until January, 1913, when the Speaker ruled that if Women's Suffrage Amendments were carried they would so alter the scope of the measure as to make it in effect a new Bill, which would have to go through all its stages again. There was no time for this, and the whole Bill was withdrawn (January, 1913).

After this bitter disappointment the N.U.W.S.S. determined to adopt a new policy. (Its constitutional methods, of course, remained unchanged.) Since non-party Women's Suffrage measures had, time after time, been blocked or wrecked by the party system, it decided to support the only party which had made Women's Suffrage one of its objects—i.e., the Labour Party. Hence the Labour policy which was carried on by the Union till the beginning of the war.

The outbreak of war in August, 1914, changed everything for Suffragists as for the rest of the world. The suffering and danger of the community made all the N.U. Societies and members feel that their first need and desire was to do it immediate service. This feeling was expressed in the words addressed to us by Mrs. Fawcett. "Let us show ourselves worthy of citizenship whether our claim to it be admitted or not." There was an eager response. The work of the Scottish Women's Hospitals and of Women's Service are only the best-known among innumerable efforts made by societies large and small, and by individual members all over the country. A section of the Union believed that it was our duty as Suffragists to work for a righteous peace and for a better system of international relations. They held that as the Women's Movement stood for supremacy of moral, as opposed to physical, force, an international system based on right was a kindred object and one for which the Union should work. The majority, however, maintained that the enfranchisement of women was the only political object which the Union could work for, because it was the one for which it existed, and the only one on which all the members of all its societies were agreed. A Council meeting held at Birmingham in June, 1915, finally accepted this view. Meanwhile, during the suspension of political action all the forces of the Union were thrown into sustaining the vital forces of the nation in the great crisis caused by the war.

In 1916 the need for a new Parliamentary register and the consequent reopening of the franchise question suddenly gave fresh hopes to Suffragists. In the autumn of 1915 the Government had tried to deal with registration alone, but had failed to do so. In the summer of 1916 the N.U.W.S.S. sent to Mr. Asquith a statement of their reasons for holding that if the question of enfranchisement for those engaged on war work were raised, the claims of women to the Suffrage could not remain unconsidered. In August N.U.W.S.S. deputations were received by Mr. Bonar Law and Lord Robert Cecil. On August 14 Mr. Asquith made a memorable speech in the House of Commons admitting the women's claim. In the autumn of 1916 the Speaker's Conference met. In January, 1917, it made its report and recommended by a majority that "some measure of Women's Suffrage should be conferred." The Speaker's Conference report was approved by the House of Commons on March 28, after a debate in which Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Walter Long, and Mr. Bonar Law all declared themselves in favour of Women's Suffrage. On March 29 the Prime Minister received a deputation of women workers organised by the N.U.W.S.S. In May the Representation of the People Bill was introduced into the House of Commons. The Women's Suffrage clauses in the Bill were left to the open judgment of the House. The result was that they passed by majorities of three to one. In December they passed the House of Lords, and on February 6, 1918, the Representation of the People Act, giving votes to six million women, received the Royal Assent.

Women's Suffrage is now the law of the land; but, since it is not yet on the same terms as men, the object for which the National Union was formed is not yet achieved. Looking forward to the complete enfranchisement of women, the N.U.W.S.S. sees before it vast fields of future work, and the Council of March, 1918, will mark, not a completed existence, but the beginning of a new life.

MR. AND MRS. HASLAM.

Mr. and Mrs. Haslam were closely connected with the Woman Suffrage Petition in 1866. Mrs. Haslam became Hon. Sec. of the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association in 1872, and retains the post to this day. Mr. Haslam is the author of a pamphlet, "Women's Suffrage from the Masculine Standpoint."

Mrs. Priscilla Bright McLaren.

Mrs. Priscilla Bright McLaren was the sister of John Bright. She was born in 1815, and brought up in Quaker traditions. She married in 1849 Mr. Duncan McLaren, of Edinburgh. She helped John Bright in his work for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and Josephine Butler in her work for the repeal of the C.D. Acts. In 1867 she helped to found the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage (now the Edinburgh Society of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies), and she was its President from that date till her death in 1906. Speaking in the Free Trade Hall at Manchester in 1881, she reminded her great audience that the building in which they sat had been built in the cause of Freedom. "Some of us," she said, "have learned our political lessons within its walls, many years ago, with distinguished men for our teachers, and we have learned from them how persistent effort leads to success in getting grievances redressed." She was one of those who gave the persistent efforts of a lifetime to Women's Suffrage, and though she did not live to see the success of the Cause, her work and the work that she inspired have had no small share in bringing it to pass.

"I shall not live to see it, but thee will," was one of her last sayings, when she was very nearly ninety.

MRS. PRISCILLA BRIGHT McLAREN.

Miss Emily Davies.

Miss Emily Davies, LL.D., is so well known to most of our readers that they will instantly recognise her portrait. Her name will always be remembered as an advocate of the opening of the Universities and the medical profession to women, and of the general advancement of women's education. She played a prominent part on public platforms during the agitation for the foundation of Girton College, Cambridge. She was one of the earliest pioneers of Women's Suffrage, and we rejoice to think that she now sees the triumph of the Cause she has lived for, and that she will have the Parliamentary vote. She was Honorary Secretary of the "Kensington Society," which met in the early 'sixties to discuss questions of social interest, and in 1865 arranged a debate on the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women. It was she who, with Mrs. Garrett Anderson, in 1866, took the first Women's Suffrage Petition to Westminster for Mr. John Stuart Mill to present to Parliament. Since then her work for Women's Suffrage has been continuous. For twenty-five years she was on the Executive Committee of the Central Society for Women's Suffrage, and on that of its successor, the London Society for Women's Suffrage. She was Chairman of the Society's Organisation Committee for seven years. Last May she was on the platform at a Women's Suffrage meeting in Hampstead Town Hall.

Dr. GARRETT ANDERSON.

MISS EMILY DAVIES.

We have recently mourned the death of Mrs. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, M.D., the elder sister of our President, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, and the pioneer of medical women in this country. She was born in 1836, graduated in medicine at the University of Geneva in 1849, and was placed on the British Medical Register in 1859. She also was one of the pioneers of Women's Suffrage, who began work more than fifty years ago, and continued her efforts until recent years. She helped to collect signatures for the petition of 1866, and helped Miss Emily Davies to carry it to Westminster. Her enthusiasm for Suffrage continued undimmed through long years of struggle. She is one of those to whom the whole Women's Movement owes an unforgettable debt.

"The Ambitious Man's Bible."

This striking phrase occurs in a letter which came to hand from a British military officer, in the course of which he mentions that several "very sceptical" brother-officers have recently become Pelmanists—impelled to that step by their own observation of what the System had achieved for the writer. His own opinion is strikingly expressed in the phrase, "the ambitious man's Bible," which he applies to the Pelman books.

Nothing which could be said upon the subject of the new movement, which is to-day reckoning its supporters by the hundred thousand, could be of greater significance than the frequency with which the sceptic ultimately becomes an enthusiastic Pelmanist.

There are still a considerable number of men and women who profess to ignore or disbelieve the published facts anent Pelmanism—and this in spite of the unstinted praise which has been bestowed upon Pelmanism after investigation by the leading journals and by thousands of men and women of all occupations who have studied the Course.

Let the sceptic examine for himself the astonishing records of the Pelman Institute, or, better still, let him work through only *one* of the Pelman "lessons," and his scepticism vanishes with surprising speed.

The truth is that it has taken the Public a fairly long while to appreciate that the faculties of the mind are just as trainable as the faculties of the body. To develop efficiency of a mental faculty is no more difficult than to develop efficiency of any particular group of muscles—always provided that an appropriate method of exercise be followed.

"Pelmanism" is not an occult science; it is free from mysticism; it is as sound, as sober, and as practical as the most hard-headed "common-sense" business man could desire. And as to its results, they follow with the same certainty with which muscular development follows physical exercise.

It is nowhere pretended, and the enquirer is nowhere led to suppose, that the promised benefits are gained "magically," by learning certain formulæ, or by the cursory reading of a printed book. The position is precisely the same, again, as with physical culture. No sane person expects to develop muscle by reading a book; he knows he must practise the physical exercises. So the Pelmanist knows that he must practise mental exercises.

"The Finest Mental Recreation."

"Exercises," in some ears, sound tedious; but every Pelmanist will bear out the statement that there is nothing tedious or exacting about the Pelman exercises. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that an overwhelming proportion of Pelmanists describe the exercises as "fascinating," "delightful," "the finest mental recreation I have known."

Returning to the sceptical man, it is amusing to find this ejaculation in the letter of a military officer:—"*Can you tell me why I did not take the Pelman Course before?*"

Set that letter beside the many—literally *hundreds*—of letters in which Pelmanists say, "*I wish I had taken this Course years ago*," and the reader will form a good conclusion. There are thousands of people of all classes who would instantly enrol for a Pelman Course at any cost if they only realised a tithe of the benefits accruing. Here again a Pelmanist may be cited in evidence:—"*If people only knew*," he says, "*the doors of the Institute would be literally besieged by eager applicants.*"

"We sometimes receive visits from enquirers who express a fear that they are 'not clever enough' to study the Pelman Course," remarked the Secretary of the Institute recently.

"The remark betrays a misunderstanding of the nature of the Course. Pelmanism is not severely scientific in form, nor is it tediously technical. Otherwise we should not have succeeded in interesting (and benefiting) so many thousands of men and women.

"The Course is founded upon scientific facts; that goes without saying. But it presents those facts in a practical everyday fashion, which enables the student to apply, for his own aims and purposes, those facts without 'fagging' at the hundreds of scientific works which he might otherwise read without gaining a fraction of the practical information and guidance secured from a few weeks' study of Pelmanism. We have students who have studied Psychology as a science for years; but it remained for the Pelman Course to confer practical and beneficial knowledge.

"The Course, in short, is prepared for busy men, and is designed to help them in their everyday problems—whatever those problems may be. And there is written testimony—mountain high—to show that every claim made for Pelmanism is completely justified by the voluntary testimony of those who have adopted it."

Every day brings its batch of flattering letters. Upon a recent morning there came to hand letters of praise from the following persons:—

A British General.
A Chief Justice of the High Court of—
2 Flying Officers.
A Business Manager.
An Engineer.
A Woman of Independent Means.
A Solicitor.
3 Clerks.
A Clergyman.
2 (no occupation stated).

Fourteen letters!—and that is very far from being a "record" day. Let any reasoning man or woman consider that list and ask himself or herself whether a system which can evoke *voluntary* testimony from such widely different classes is not worth investigation. Who can *afford* to hold aloof from a movement which is steadily gaining the support of all the ambitious and progressive elements in the Empire? In two consecutive days recently, two M.P.s and a member of the Upper House enrolled. Run through the current Pelman Register and therein you will find British Consuls, H.M. Judges, War Office, Admiralty, and other Government officials, University graduates, students, tutors, Headmasters, Scientists, Clergymen, Architects, Doctors, Solicitors, Barristers, Authors, Editors, Journalists, Artists, Actors, Accountants, Business Directors and Managers, Bankers, Financiers, Peers, Peeresses, and men and women of wealth and leisure, as well as Salesmen, Clerks, Typists, Tradesmen, Engineers, Artisans, Farmers, and others of the rank-and-file of the nation. If ever the well-worn phrase, "from peer to peasant," had a real meaning, it is when applied to Pelmanism.

A National Asset.

It is difficult to speak of Pelmanism without enthusiasm. To say that the Pelman Institute is doing a great national work is no more than the bare truth. The movement is no passing craze, but is one which will endure and wax greater and still greater as its supreme value comes to be more and more understood and appreciated by the mass of the nation.

Pelmanism is a real national asset, and it possesses the further advantage of being a valuable *personal* asset for every man and woman who adopts it.

Pelmanism is fully explained and described in "Mind and Memory," which, with a copy of *Truth's* remarkable report on the work of the Pelman Institute, will be sent, *gratis and post free*, to any reader of The Common Cause who addresses The Pelman Institute, 177, Wenham House, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C. 1.

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MESSAGES TO "THE COMMON CAUSE"

on the Occasion of the Suffrage Victory, 1918, from some of those who have devoted the greater part of their lives to the Cause.

From Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

The message I should like to send you is better expressed by these words of Shelley's than by any words of mine:—

"To love and bear; to hope till Hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
Neither to change, nor falter nor repent;
This, like thy glory, Titan! is to be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free,
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory."

From Miss Emily Davies, LL.D.

A great victory has been won. After more than half-a-century of persevering effort, aimed directly at the admission of women to the Parliamentary franchise, a measure by which this reform is secured has been carried through, amid general acquiescence, if not warm approval. Opponents are now prepared to hope for the best. Those of us who are rejoicing in the fulfilment of long-cherished aspirations, hope and trust that the best will be very good. Let us recognise that the gift brings with it an added responsibility, and resolve that this new opportunity for usefulness shall be used with wholehearted devotion in the service of humanity.

From Mrs. Haslam, President of the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association.

Having been engaged, more or less, in public work since the Irish famine in 1846-47, and as a convinced Suffragist since my marriage in 1854, I rejoice with my sisters that our long struggle is over by the passing of the Representation of the People Bill. We are at last recognised as competent to share with our brothers in the duties of citizenship. My one regret is that my dear husband was not permitted to live to see the realisation of what he had so unceasingly worked for. There is scarcely a righteous cause, in the promotion of which either women or children are interested, in which the political help of women is not most urgently needed.

From Miss S. E. S. Mair, President Edinburgh National Society for Women Suffrage.

In the midst of our rejoicing let us bear in reverent and thankful remembrance the many devoted workers of last century who lit the torch of women's enfranchisement that burns so brightly for us to-day, and by its light let us do battle with the works of darkness.

From Lady Strachey.

It is difficult to give expression to the variety of emotions aroused by the victory we have gained after fifty years of struggle, and by the knowledge that one of the greatest steps recorded in the history of progressive civilisation has now been taken. But, after all, what need is there for individual expression when we are all united in perfect understanding and sympathy? We are all filled with gratitude to our leaders, and to those men who have given us their support. Those of us who are old have the enjoyment of memory; those of us who are young have the enjoyment of anticipation; all of us feel that this is the moment of breathless suspense which precedes action, and we can say, in the words of the poet:—

"Enter the town which thou hast won;
The fruits of conquest now begin;
Io triumphe! Enter in."

From Mrs. Osler, President of the Birmingham Women's Suffrage Society, of which she has been an Officer since 1880.

My message to fellow-Suffragists is to regard our victory not as the end, but the beginning of effort. We have striven for the vote as a means for the realisation of ideals: we have now to use it for this end. The breakdown of civilisation through the war will leave us face to face with appalling evils—greed, bestiality, hatred—which must be grappled with fearlessly by all public-spirited men and women, if there is to be hope of regeneration for the world. We must dedicate ourselves anew to this conflict for ideals, giving thanks for the new weapon of the spirit now entrusted to us.

From Councillor Margaret Ashton.

"Mine eyes have seen the coming of the Glory of the Lord." Another of the age-long barriers to Freedom has gone down, and a wide breach is made in the walls of that strong and cruel fortress of sex privilege which has held women bound. National life will be strengthened and sweetened by the recognition of the full citizenship of women who, now at last free themselves, can march onward to the wider freedom that knows no liberty itself till all are free. This tremendous power and trust is ours to use not for women, not for England alone, but in the service of humanity the wide-world over.

From Miss I. O. Ford.

It is indeed wonderful when one wakes in the morning to remember that now, at last, one is considered to be a real, complete human being! After thirty years of endeavour to make men understand they were only half the world, and women that they were the other half, and to make both see that two halves make a whole, it is really wonderful to find they at last do understand it all! Now, if a new Mrs. Josephine Butler arises—and there is sore need for such a one—she can work with a strong weapon. We need more Florence Nightingales, more of all those great minds who have paved the way for us, and they can now all work for the change of heart in our nation, so much talked of, with the best and most honest weapon. The price we have paid for our enfranchisement is too heavy, some of us find, to allow us to rejoice in the light-hearted, happy fashion we used to picture in old days, but we are filled with a deep and earnest thankfulness, and within all our minds lies the most loving gratitude to our President for having so patiently and so wisely steered us to victory.

From Miss Edith Palliser, Secretary London Society for Women's Suffrage, 1895-1906; Joint Secretary N.U.W.S.S., from 1897 to 1906; Hon. Parliamentary Secretary N.U.W.S.S., 1911.

To all my colleagues and to those personally unknown to me, whose faith and fine flame of enthusiasm lightened the task and inspired me with courage, I send heartiest greetings on the victory achieved for our cause. No words of mine can express the reverent gratitude I feel for the friendship, the loyal comradeship, and example of unfaltering devotion to a high ideal shown me during the twenty-two years of my work, when the great privilege was granted me of serving under our honoured leader, Mrs. Fawcett.

From Miss Edith Dimock, Hon. Secretary N.U.W.S.S., 1908-1911.

I suppose the main thought—with its deep-lying sense of satisfaction—that comes to most of us who have worked for Women's Suffrage is, that at last the hope is realised of bringing together all that is best in men and women for work towards good. To me it seems that the fact of the men having at length conceded, and, above all, not grudgingly, but with real good will, what women have so long striven for, opens up boundless expectations for their future work together. And, although we have not yet attained our full aim of the vote, "on the same terms as men," we know now that this will eventually be achieved.

I am also full of thankfulness because Mrs. Fawcett is with us at the dawn of this day—Mrs. Fawcett, who from the beginning and all through has kept our movement on such a high plane, never allowing for a moment any lower motive or petty action to mar it. I think she must be the happiest woman on this earth if she can at all realise what strength her noble and generous spirit put into those who worked under her leadership. It is an intense joy to know that it has been a good fight from beginning to end.

From Miss Maude Royden.

My mind is haunted by "Mrs. Fawcett's Psalm." I can only send as a message some more words from it:—

"Yea, the Lord hath done great things for us already: whereof we rejoice."

From Miss K. D. Courtney, Hon. Secretary of the N.U.W.S.S., 1911-1915.

The world is overwhelmed by the war, and in face of tremendous events involving the destiny of whole nations, the most epoch-making changes in our own Constitution lose their true proportion, and appear relatively unimportant. Against a background of Armageddon, even the enfranchisement of six million British women passes almost unnoticed. Yet that enfranchisement is profoundly significant, and its consequences incalculable, and Suffragists lift up their hearts in spite of the burden of war, and rejoice in victory and all that victory means. We rejoice because we believe that our freedom has not been extorted from an unwilling country, but is given gladly and generously in real recognition of the citizenship of women; we rejoice too, because, forgetting much that was bitter in the struggle, we know that the struggle itself has helped to create an awakened womanhood ready and eager to use its new powers. We look forward hopefully to the future, when at one of the most critical times in history, the men and women of this country will together help to restore a shattered world, and will together begin to build Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land.

For the Suffrage movement the vote has been a symbol—a means, not an end, and so the winning of the vote marks not so much an end as a beginning. The tool is in our hands; our real business is to use it.

From Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, First Editor-Manager of "The Common Cause."

When this paper was started, in April, 1909, and it was necessary to choose a name which should describe its policy and the policy of the National Union, whose organ it was to be, "The Common Cause" seemed a good name, because we believed that the freedom of women was the common cause of humanity, and that when men understood this, and believed it, they would give women their freedom. People are finding all sorts of queer reasons for the inclusion of women in the Representation of the People Act; I believe, and am glad to believe, that most British men simply desire that their women should be free; I believe, and am glad to believe, that the National Union and The Common Cause have done much to bring men to this wholesome desire.

MESSAGES FROM FRIENDS IN PARLIAMENT.

The Right Hon. Lord Courtney of Penwith.

I have been so little active of late years in the promotion of our common cause that I feel scarcely warranted in joining in jubilations over our victory. Yet I cannot refrain from responding to the invitation to express my joy at the triumph. It has been magnificent. Forty years ago, when I had the honour of conducting the Women's Suffrage Bill in the House of Commons, our aims were so modest as to incite even then something like contempt on the part of the more enthusiastic. But I think we were right in desiring to remove the slur put upon the sex incapacity in political judgment; and assuredly modest spade-work did help towards preparing the ground for the more bounteous harvest of to-day. That has been overwhelming in its extent and in its suddenness. We can now see how, bit by bit, the work was extended and the obstacles cleared away, till at last it seemed as if there was no real resistance to be encountered.

If our Mother Country was anticipated by some of her children in the admission of women to political rights, I think we may say that in the end the development at home has come abreast of anything to be met elsewhere. The limitation of age does certainly reduce the number of enfranchised women from what it might be, but the adult women are relatively so much more numerous at home that the proportion of women to men voting is perhaps as great here as anywhere, and the total number of women voters must be largely in excess of those found in any of our Dominions. I am satisfied: but experience will prove the enfranchisement of women to be as safe as it is wise; and that it will not be long before all will wonder why the revolution—and revolution it undoubtedly is—was not effected before.

From the Right Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, Minister of Blockade.

I should like to say how delighted I am that our efforts should at last have been crowned with success.

That the women's vote will prove a solution of all our political and social difficulties I do not believe, but I am as convinced as ever I was that their enfranchisement will make for cleaner politics, more balanced social progress, and a better appreciation of some of the more essential factors in our political life than we have had heretofore. To your society and its distinguished President belongs in no small part the credit of having achieved this reform.

From the Right Hon. Sir W. H. Dickinson, M.P.

We, who have fought for the common cause, have common cause to rejoice, not merely because we have gained our first objective, but because we can now line up together for the final assault upon the ills that mar our social and political system. Men and women, now equally responsible for the government of the country, should be doubly effective for the good of the country. We have called up our reserves, and with them we will win through.

From the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.

Woman Suffragists are entitled to the congratulations of all good democrats upon the passing into law of the Representation of the People Act. The measure which has now been placed upon the Statute Book is the fruit of a political agitation, carried on mainly by women at great personal cost, conducted more skilfully than almost any other propaganda of our time. It has involved much sacrifice of time and energy, but the effort has not been wasted, inasmuch as it has shown how women can handle a large public issue upon which opinion has to be made and effectively organised. We do not expect any miraculous results from the enfranchisement of women, but we do anticipate that women will infuse a new spirit into public life and quicken the pace of political and social reform. It is my conviction that the democratic movement stands to gain enormously from the enfranchisement of women. Men and women have a common interest in good government and in the extension of the principle of democratic control over all the activities of society. I confidently believe that the newly enfranchised women will set an example of public-spirited citizenship, and that they will be eager to co-operate with men in the prosecution of the great democratic causes whose triumph will mean peace, security, and freedom for mankind.

From the Right Hon. A. Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

I congratulate your Society on the success which has attended its efforts, and I feel sure, as I have always believed, that the extension of the vote to women will be in every way an advantage to the country.

From the Right Hon. the Earl of Selborne, K.C., C.C.M.G.

I am very glad to hear that you are going to have your meeting of celebration on March 13th, and I am sure that every care will be taken to do honour to Mrs. Fawcett. It is seldom indeed that a life's work is crowned with such triumphant success, or that one individual is able to accomplish so much to make our great experiment in democracy stable and sane and clean.

From Sir John Simon.

It is indeed a striking and significant fact that at a time when brute force is claiming to control the destinies of the world, this victory—which is the victory of something much higher than force—should have been gained. We ought to estimate the value of this reform, not merely by reckoning what concrete improvements women's votes may secure, but by regarding the change as a symbol that the community recognises the direct partnership of men and women in the task of rebuilding national life on a firmer foundation and according to a better plan. It will need all the energies of all who remain to do it.

"THE COMMON CAUSE."

The leading article in last week's Common Cause (March 8th) will have set at rest any doubt that existed in the minds of our readers as to the necessity of continuing to support this paper. We now ask (see p. 630) not only our regular subscribers, but any person who has felt one thrill of joy or gratitude at the recent victory to contribute a sum, however small, to the fund without which The Common Cause cannot continue to voice the further needs of women.

A Serbian Soldier (prisoner of war) suffering from hunger-typhus in Mathausen. Reproduced direct from an absolutely untouched, authenticated photograph. (*Serbian Press Bureau.*)

If you were this famished Serb Soldier

He was once a stalwart son of Serbia, his only crime that he fought to protect his home and those he held dear. Look on the photograph and you see the mere skeleton of a man with little left but the will to live. And he *wants* to live. If *you* were in his place would you not be grateful if bread were sent across the waters to feed you and bring back health and strength?

This tragedy is multiplied a thousand-fold—the man's case is but one amongst many.

"There are concentration camps where one-half of the inmates have died. And this is not a case of epidemic. . . . They die there of cold and hunger." This is not rhetoric. It is the cold recital of irrefragable facts in a memorandum issued by the Serbian Legation.

You who read this will feel an impulse to help those who cannot help themselves. You *can* help them. The way is clear before you.

The Serbian Relief Fund is the only officially authorised Fund under British Administration working exclusively for the relief of Serbians. This Committee is sending food to starving Serbians in prison camps, and is helping to keep alive and healthy the refugee Serbs—parents, wives and children of Serbian soldiers who are still gallantly fighting for the Allied cause. Save for the soldiers, one part of the Serbian people is in the hands of her enemies; the rest are in exile. Their vital needs are Food, Clothing and Medical Aid. Help to succour them by sending a donation, according to your ability, to:—

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Looking Forward.

The moment of victory, the time for which we have looked so long and so earnestly, is here: the most formidable of the dragons in the path of Women Suffragists has been slain, and a new future lies before us. For a moment we must stop to rejoice, but it can only be for a moment; before we finish our thanksgiving we must begin to look forward again.

Each one of the workers for Women's Suffrage has read into the struggle the ideals she has held most dear: justice, freedom, liberty, democracy, equality, the fair name of our country, the freedom of its children, the protection of the oppressed, the uplifting of humanity; we have each one of us seen the progress of our chosen cause in the progress of the Enfranchisement of Women, and it is this that has given to the movement the strength and the passion that have carried it forward to victory. And now to us, enfranchised citizens, the ideals remain. We all believe that by the very act of women's enfranchisement they have come sensibly nearer; but neither justice nor freedom are with us yet, and there can be no slackening of our efforts.

In his magnificent speech on the Second Reading of the Reform Bill, Lord Buckmaster said:

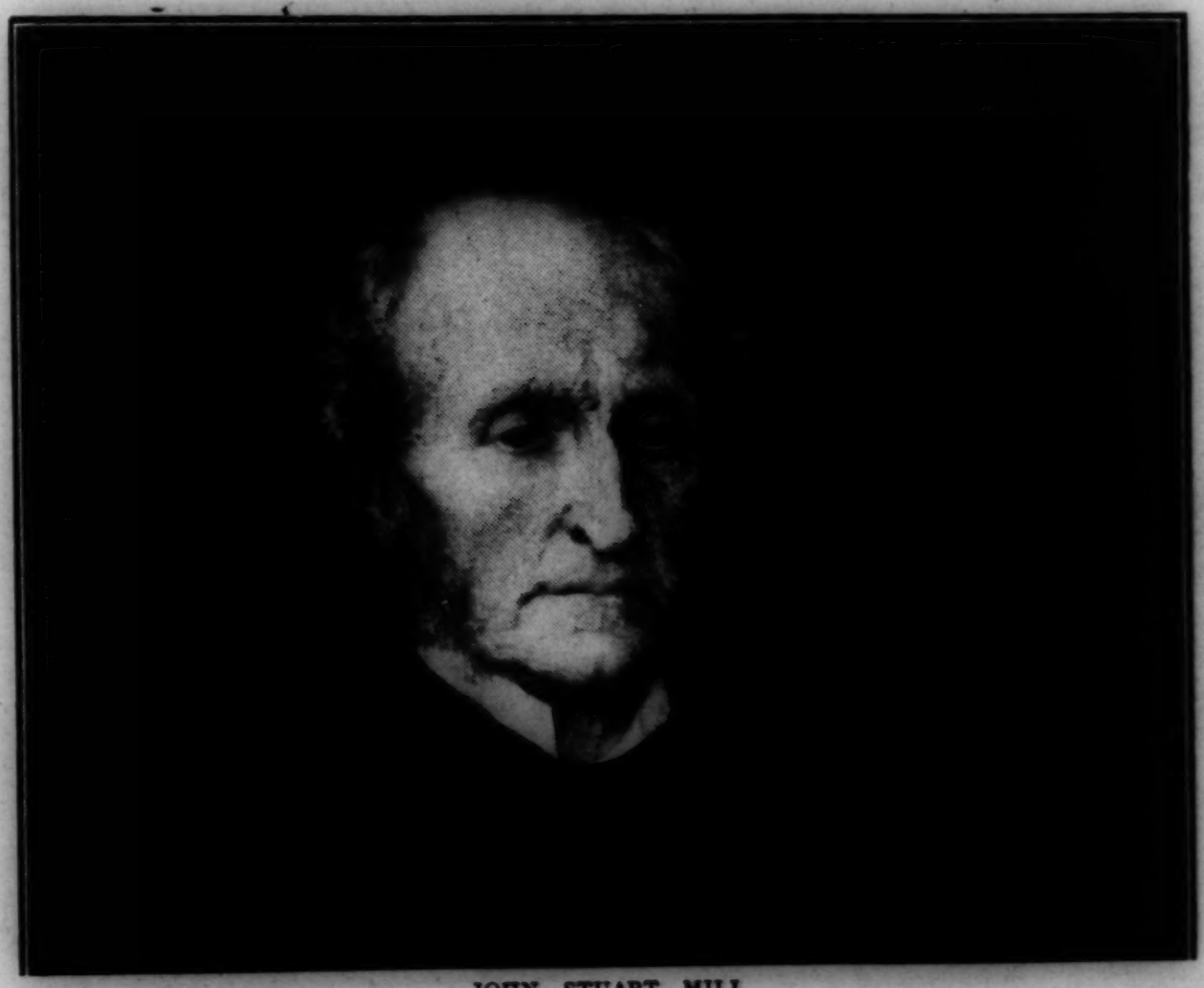
> No great hope has ever been thoroughly realised, and I trust it never will. I myself should despair of the whole future of the human race, and I should think that I had misread its purpose, if I could believe that there remained anywhere a rest for the children of men, and that there was something the accomplishment of which would be destructive of all future effort for the future improvement of the race.

The truth of this feeling we all know well. And now, in our immediate future we must decide how and in what concrete terms we shall harness our beliefs once more to our organisation.

Must we separate from each other, following each our own ideal, expressing it through concrete measures of social reform, through concrete social programmes, through actual political parties, or can we still find the realisation of our own beliefs forwarded and immediately expressed in work for the improvement of the position of women? Is it not still true, as it was last year and the year before and in all the years back to the beginning, that until the position of women is right neither justice nor liberty nor any other good thing can be said to prevail upon the earth? And is the position of women right to-day? Great as is our progress, and great as is the change wrought by the passing of the Reform Bill, can we say that in any single department of life women yet take their proper place? Too high on the one hand, too low on the other, too softly or too hardly treated, women are nowhere taking their proper share in the world's responsibilities, and until they do are not all our ideals still expressible in the movement for their equality? Until their position is right their very existence is a menace to all advance; political progress stands still until they catch up; social reform goes but crookedly until they fully share it; the problems of labour and of industry can never be settled while women remain a weakness in the world of industry, and home itself stands upon a rotten foundation till they are free.

Surely then our path is clear and we can look forward without hesitation. The position of women in the world has been our common cause: it is so still. And our first instalment of victory is but a first instalment, a weapon in our hands, a measure of our progress. We are further on, but we are not there, and the very fact that we can move more quickly now is a reason for our continued action. We can look forward with a quicker optimism, and we can move forward at a quicker pace, but we must not lose our unity nor slacken our efforts until the day when women share freely and equally in the sunlight and shadow of the world.

Ray Strachey.



JOHN STUART MILL.

John Stuart Mill was born in 1806. He was one of the greatest of Suffragists. His work on the "Subjection of Women," published in 1869, has been the text-book for succeeding generations. It was he who, as member for Westminster, raised the question of Women's Suffrage in Parliament. He moved an Amendment to the Reform Bill of 1867, designed to secure the enfranchisement of women. Seventy-three members voted with him, and 196 against. He presented the first Women's Suffrage Petition to Parliament. He died in 1873, but his works live after him.

Woman Suffrage in Other Lands.

British women who have won their war have now leisure to survey the position of women's political struggle in other countries. It is hoped that the present brief survey may be of service in offering a summary of progress made in Europe and America.

The movements in the great English-speaking countries have been so closely allied that it seems natural to begin with suffrage history in the *United States*. The movement began there with the anti-slavery agitation, in which women took a prominent part, and which stimulated in them the desire for freedom and justice for themselves as well as for the coloured race. The match was applied to the straw at the Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840, when American women delegates who had travelled 3,000 miles to claim rights for negroes were refused recognition and admittance owing to British sex-prejudice. The debate and vote as to their admission burnt into the minds of Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton the need for establishing women's claims to equal rights, and bore fruit in the First Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls in 1848, when the first public demand was made in America for Woman Suffrage. An article by Mrs. Taylor on this Convention helped to set the ball rolling in Great Britain and to lead John Stuart Mill to introduce the first Woman Suffrage Bill. In America the Civil War of 1861 was followed by the enfranchisement of the negro by Federal Amendment to the Constitution, while American women were left out in the cold, in spite of protests, and petitions to have the word "male" omitted from the Amendment. But, as Mrs. Stanton wrote in 1869: "Tyranny on a Southern plantation is far more easily seen by white men at the North than the wrongs of women of their own households."

Steps were then taken to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association and to formulate a 16th amendment to the Constitution enfranchising women, which, at last in January, 1918, passed the Lower House of Congress.

But, in the United States, at every phase of the movement we must observe its dual nature. Side by side with the effort to get nation-wide enfranchisement by getting an amendment to the Federal Constitution passed by Congress there runs the work of winning State by State.

In 1869 the territory of Wyoming was organised on a basis of political equality for men and women, and in 1878 an editorial in the chief newspaper stated that "Woman Suffrage in Wyoming has been in every particular a complete success."

When Wyoming applied for admission to the Union as a State in 1890 and was told that no other State had Woman Suffrage, its government sent word that Wyoming would come into the Union with its women or stay outside.

William Bright, who introduced the Woman Suffrage Bill, the first to pass in America, was moved thereto by his appreciation of his wife's superiority. "Betty, it's a shame that I should be a member of the legislature and make laws for such a woman as you. You are a great deal better than I am; you know a great deal more, and you would make a better member of the Assembly than I, and you know it. I have been thinking about it, and have made up my mind to do everything in my power to give you the ballot. Then you may work out the rest in your own way."

Women were also admitted to sit on juries, and the judges gave emphatic testimony to their usefulness.

It was many years, however, before Wyoming's example was followed by Colorado in 1893. Other States have come in more rapidly: Idaho and Utah, 1896; Washington, 1910; California, 1911; Arizona, Oregon and Kansas, 1912; Alaska, 1913; Nevada and Montana, 1915; and, crowning all, the Empire State of New York in 1917. In all these States women have full and equal rights with men. All adults can vote in all elections and be elected. Twelve women are members of State Legislatures and one of the U.S. Congress. But in addition to the States giving full rights, for which a referendum vote of all male voters is necessary, recently some State legislatures have given women the vote in Presidential elections, for which a referendum is not necessary.

States where women can vote for President and not for the Legislature are: Illinois (1913), N. Dakota, Indiana, Michigan, Nebraska, Rhode Island (1917). Ohio has the unenviable distinction of having granted Presidential Suffrage in 1917 and rescinded it on referendum.

These State campaigns are enormously costly in time, labour and money, and after the unexampled labours of the New York campaigns in 1915 and 1917 Suffragists felt that no effort must be spared to get nation-wide suffrage by an amendment to the Federal Constitution. Susan Anthony, the great pioneer Suffragist, framed a 16th amendment to the Constitution introduced in 1878. She had tested the validity of women's exclusion by voting herself in the general election of 1872, for which she was tried and fined as a criminal offender. The Supreme Court of the United States decided against women in 1875. Ever since then American Suffragists have endeavoured by deputations and petitions to promote the 16th amendment, but no favourable action has been taken by Congress until this year, when, following on the sweeping and momentous victory in New York, the House of Representatives (the Lower House of Congress) passed the Amendment by the necessary two-thirds majority. The vote in the Senate (the Upper House of Congress) is expected daily, and, should it succeed, the amendment must then be ratified by the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States. This process will take time, as the legislatures only meet in alternate years, so ratification can only be complete in 1920. Great Britain has outstripped the United States in the race for democracy, though we must note that there women have the vote on equal terms (no waiting till 30!) and can be elected members of Parliament, so although American women may wait a little longer, they will be more completely enfranchised. As to the effect on legislation, the testimony of public men and legislative bodies in the Suffrage States is unanimous in attributing sound progressive results to the participation of women. Women do not vote separately, but they make their influence felt, and Suffrage States are to the fore in laws protecting children and safeguarding women's rights as parents and home makers.

All the Suffrage States have Mothers' Pension Laws. The age of consent is higher (in Wyoming 21, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, California, 18).

Most of the Suffrage States have passed laws making mothers equal guardians with fathers over minor children; many of them have laws enforcing the claim of wife and children to maintenance and punishing lazy husbands.

Many of them have established an eight-hour day and minimum wage for women.

Many of them have "Injunction and Abatement" laws for the abolition of immoral houses (throwing the onus on the *owner*).

Women have also had immense influence in legislation restricting the sale of liquor, and this is so well known that it has roused the utmost opposition of the drink interests to any extension of Woman Suffrage. Women are able, as voters, to intervene effectually in many cases where they would otherwise be helpless. Thus in the Colorado strikes of early 1914, when the mineowners used gun men to shoot down the strikers and fire their camp, the women voters went en masse to the Governor and blocked his doorstep until he consented to telegraph for Federal troops. They also sent a deputation to Washington to have the massacres investigated, and thus safeguarded human life.

Among the most important achievements of women voters in 1917 was the return of the first woman member of Congress, Miss Jeanette Rankine, member for Montana, who has immediately championed the causes of the care of children and better industrial conditions for the workers, besides introducing the Woman Suffrage amendment into Congress. Opinions will differ as to the value of her protest on the war vote: "I love my country, but I cannot vote for war"; but none who know of the immense pressure of public opinion and big interests will deny the value of conscientiousness and personal courage in giving an unpopular vote.

Turning now to the British Dominions, we are proud that *Australia* and *New Zealand* were the pioneers in this great reform.

New Zealand gave women Parliamentary Suffrage but not eligibility in 1893, and South Australia in 1894, being gradually followed by other provinces, and the Commonwealth giving women the Federal vote and eligibility from its establishment in 1902.

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the Federal Parliament was to guarantee equal pay for equal work for men and women in Government service, and this was supported by politicians who, until women had the vote, had opposed the principle. In 1906 both Houses of the Federal Parliament passed the following resolution nem. con. :

1. That this House testifies to the facts that after sixteen years' experience of Women's Suffrage in various parts of Australia and nine years' experience in the Commonwealth, the reform has justified the hopes of its supporters.

2. As foreseen by its advocates, its effects have been : (a) To educate women gradually to a sense of their responsibility in public affairs; (b) to give more prominence to social and domestic legislation.

3. That the Australasian experience convinces this House that to adopt Women's Suffrage is simply to apply to the political sphere that principle of government that secures the best results in the domestic sphere—the mutual co-operation of men and women for the general welfare.

Further resolutions were passed in 1910 urging other nations to grant votes to women. These resolutions sum up so well the results of the earliest experiments in Woman Suffrage that it is not necessary to add details of useful and progressive legislation in which women have co-operated. We may note, however, that, far from Woman Suffrage having injured the family, those countries have the lowest infant death-rate in the world and the highest rate of natural increase. There is no need to prove to those who daily see those magnificent specimens of manhood, the Australian and New Zealand troops, that the race has not degenerated, but progressed, in those Woman Suffrage countries.

Canada was long in following suit, but is rapidly making up for lost time. Since 1916 the Provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, British Columbia, and Ontario have enfranchised women; in 1917 the Federal vote was granted to women relatives of soldiers overseas, and now a measure is pending to give the Federal vote for the Dominion Parliament to all women. We may hope that shortly all women in the North American Continent will be enfranchised.

South Africa alone of English-speaking countries remains obdurate. The Union Parliament recently rejected a Woman Suffrage measure. Doubtless, however, the example of the Mother Country will tell. The question there is complicated by fear of the coloured vote.

In Europe, the Scandinavian countries have led the way. Finland gave women full equal suffrage in 1907 and the right to sit in Parliament. There are at present twenty women in the Diet, and they have introduced useful reforms; but we must bear in mind that they, like their men, have been hampered in all their efforts by the veto of the Tsar's Government and the steady restriction of their liberties by Russian oppression. If they secure independence as a result of the present upheaval, women, with their equal status and political experience, will be able to accomplish much. All who have met Finnish women politicians have been deeply impressed by their high character, abilities, and status.

In *Russia*, women, at the Revolution a year ago, secured the right to vote, but in the present chaotic state it is impossible to know what rights they have. Before the Revolution they were equal with men in having no political rights, and they will now probably share whatever rights men have.

Norway granted Woman Suffrage in 1907, equal Universal Suffrage in 1913, and in 1915 gave women the right to be members of the Cabinet.

Fru Quam, the veteran Suffrage leader, sums up Norwegian women's aims admirably thus: "To make man and woman equal citizens, working honestly and faithfully for home and country. Whenever we find an obstacle in our way, an old barrier that has kept women handicapped, we struggle until we have removed it." "Everywhere we see the endeavour of our Government and Parliament to place woman on the same footing as man."

Women practise as barristers and can be appointed judges and sheriffs. They occupy important posts as university professors and physicians at State hospitals (where they also lecture to medical students). All State offices and all professions (except in the army and the Church) are open to them; they may even be professors of theology—that is, teachers of clergymen. Women as voters make themselves felt in all legislation.

At present Norway has only one woman M.P. The party system at elections handicaps women candidates. One of the questions which Norwegian women have taken up most keenly is the protection of the unmarried mother and illegitimate child, and the laws recently passed safeguard their welfare in every way possible, fastening the responsibility on the child's father. Equal pay for equal work is being gradually won in Government service, including teaching.

Denmark introduced Woman Suffrage as a war measure in 1915, in order that in these dangerous times the State might have the support of all its citizens. *Iceland* had already passed a Woman Suffrage measure, which became law in 1915.

Sweden is the last Scandinavian country to win victory. A Government Bill has just been introduced and has every prospect of success. The Conservative Upper House has hitherto been the stumbling-block.

Holland has just introduced a unique and anomalous law into her amended Constitution by which women may be elected members of the States General, although they may not vote themselves. It is likely, however, that now that the new Constitution has removed legal obstacles to the introduction of Woman Suffrage a wider measure will soon be passed. The Suffrage movement is extremely vigorous, and under the able leadership of Dr. Aletta Jacobs is likely soon to be victorious.

In *Germany* women have no political rights, not even the municipal vote. No mention is made of them in the new Prussian Electoral Reform scheme, and for the first time middle-class Suffragists are uniting with Social Democratic women in protest against the complete ignoring of women's claims, in spite of their services during the war. The only politicians who support the women are the Social Democrats.

In *Austria* there are some indications of progress. Women are taking an active part in public life, and especially in holding mass meetings for peace. The National Council of Women is joining with Suffragists in claiming enfranchisement, and the Minister of the Interior is reported as saying that in the reform of the municipal franchise he was prepared to consider women's claims.

Hungary is much more advanced. The Suffrage campaign has been strong and growing for years, and was stimulated by the International Woman Suffrage Congress in Buda Pesth in 1913. The Government has now introduced a Bill enfranchising women on a fairly high educational test, also women members of scientific and literary societies, and widows of soldiers. The restrictions are probably intended to favour the Magyar majority, but the Bill is warmly welcomed by the Suffragists, who have also insisted successfully that women should be eligible for Parliament.

France is hoping for the municipal suffrage for women after the war. A Parliamentary group for women's rights has lately been formed in the Chamber of Deputies, and the supporters of Woman Suffrage have a majority in the Suffrage Committee.

In *Switzerland* the movement has to be carried on in each canton separately, and in several of them the subject is under discussion; but none of the Cantonal Councils has, so far, carried a Woman Suffrage motion. Minor successes have been scored in securing the Church vote and the vote for the tribunals of *prud'hommes* in several instances.

In *Italy* women have hardly yet entered on a political campaign, though there are Suffrage Committees in several towns. They are striving for more civil rights, especially the abolition of marital authorisation and for the abolition of the law which forbids enquiry into the paternity of illegitimate children, thus throwing the whole burden on the mother.

But the war, which has called upon women to replace men in agriculture and industry, has altered the public attitude to them, so that the question of enfranchisement is coming more to the fore. In every country the fact that Great Britain, first of all the Great Powers, has enfranchised its women is making a deep impression. It encourages the women to press their claims, and it modifies the fears and suspicions of legislators who fear the unknown. British women, in fighting their battle, have fought the battle of all women, and we may look forward confidently to a near future when in all Democratic States women will have equal rights, and women can confer with women of other countries who all share national and international responsibilities.

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Mrs. Buttletub Gets Her Vote.

By Hilda C. Adshead.

"So you've got your vote," Uncle Laban said grimly. "Ah! You've got the war to thank for that, you have! You've had a deal to say against the war, but it's the war that has given you the vote, and you can't deny it!"

"I don't," said Mrs. Buttletub, intent on her knitting.

"Ah!" said Uncle Laban, patronisingly, stretching out his legs and smiling. "You women have come out well, I won't deny it! You've come out very well, and you've fair earned the vote."

"Women was working before the war," said Mrs. Buttletub a trifle drily. "Women needed the vote, and had a right to the vote before the war. What the war's done isn't to alter the women, but to alter the men. They'd took stubborn against giving the vote, and they'd got themselves into a mess and didn't know how to get out. The war's give them an excuse, and they've took it."

Uncle Laban decided not to pursue the subject. He felt for his pipe. "Well, anyhow, you've got it," he said, filling it a little hurriedly, "and what do you suppose you're going to do now you've got it? You take my word for it you won't do much. Men don't."

"Ah, but we ain't going to use it same as you do," said Mrs. Buttletub, placidly.

"Same as we do! What other way is there?" snapped Uncle Laban.

"At election times," said Mrs. Buttletub, counting stitches under her breath, "you go fair dotty. The man you're for is all that's good. The man you're against is a scoundrel. You go to meetings and you howl yourselves hoarse. You sing songs—generally out of tune—and behave like a lot of kids. You screech if your man gets in, and you groan if the other chap does. Then you go home and forget all about it. The chap that gets in—doesn't make much difference to you which side he is—takes his four hundred a year and goes to the House of Commons just as often or as little as he likes. You take no notice. You've done with politics till next election comes round, same as you've done with religion Sundays till Sunday comes round again. The trust you has in them politicians is beautiful to see—if it wasn't so misplaced and so babyish. They can't do wrong. You'd stick up for 'em against your own father and mother and wives and children. Tell you of something that they've done that's mean or cruel, and you're full of excuses. All they do is right in your eyes, and they've to be let be till election comes round when you can go mad."

"You can't stir Parliament up," said Uncle Laban, sulkily.

"Oh, *can't* you?" said Mrs. Buttletub with a meaning nod. "*You'll* see! Besides, this party business is so silly. They go into Parliament to see what they can get, not for the good of the country. Now, my idea is same as that poetry Melinda used to say. I don't remember it all, but there's a bit that sticks. 'When none were for a party and all were for the State.' We're going to take an *interest*, and we're for the *State*."

"You're talking rubbish," said Uncle Laban hotly. "Parties has got to be. You can't run the country without."

"Nothing's got to be that people choose to do without," said Mrs. Buttletub calmly. "Politics want a good spring clean, and we're out to give it 'em."

"You'd better be careful not to meddle with things you don't understand," Uncle Laban said uneasily. "Women are so impulsive."

"And men's so apathetic," retorted Mrs. Buttletub. "You can't stir a man! Tell him of things that's gone wrong—will he move? Not him! It's 'got to be,' he thinks; you can't alter things, and he shuffles off and out of it. Why, if the men had had any backbone do you think they'd have let the Government treat them conscientious objectors like they're doin'? Who put 'em into the Bill and took 'em seriously? The Government, to be sure. Then they go forcibly feeding them and torturing them! And what do the men do? Nothing! Then look at some of these pensions. Why, it's a scandal; that's what it is! And do the men move? Not them! I mean men of your sort; not the high-spirited ones same as them that helped us to get our vote," explained Mrs. Buttletub kindly. "The man in the street, I mean. He's got a vote, but he don't use it. He don't take any interest. Look at what's been in the papers lately," said Mrs. Buttletub, getting heated. "Them places abroad for our poor young lads, and middle-aged men at home keeping their easy paid jobs just because them lads is fighting hasn't the decency to protect them from temptations! When I think of it my blood boils!"

Uncle Laban rose rather hurriedly and shifted to the door.

"Oh, well," he said, "these things, you know, will happen. You can't make everything right all at once. The Government's got a big job on—a very big job. You can't expect them to be able to manage every little thing."

"I wonder you men don't get a phonygraft made," said Mrs. Buttletub coldly, "to grind out the remarks for you. They're always the same. Anyway"—as the door banged behind the retreating and discomfited man—"I've got *my* vote, anyway; and I'm going to *use* it!"

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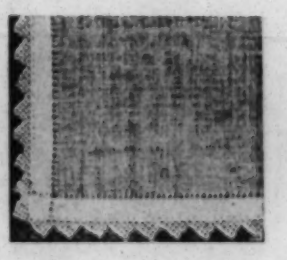

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1. To send funds to the American Relief Committees in the Russian Caucasus, and on the borders of Persia, for the purpose of housing, feeding and clothing the Armenian refugees who have fled to these districts from Armenia.
2. To house, educate, maintain and clothe the thousands of orphan refugees in the above districts. **Fifteen pounds will maintain a child for a year.**
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Please mention THE COMMON CAUSE.

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